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FROM

Rev. Moncure D. Conway

of

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The Paine Festival.

C E L E B R A T I O N

OF THE

119TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH-DAY

OF

THOMAS PAINE,

AT

CINCINNATI,

JANUARY 29, 1856.

PUBLISHED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESOLUTIONS,
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INTRODUCTION.

THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS, for the celebration of the 119th anniversary of the Birth-day of THOMAS PAINE, the Author-Hero of the Revolution, congratulate the liberal and enlightened portion of their fellow-citizens on the success which has attended this effort to do justice to a great man's memory.

The Invitation of the Committee to the Political and Religious friends of THOMAS PAINE, to join in celebrating his Birth-day, met with a noble response. We were cheered by harmonious feelings and liberal contributions. Men of liberal sentiments, though widely separated in their opinions on political, social, and religious questions, joined heartily in a great ovation to the memory of an Honest Man, who, fearlessly and conscientiously did a noble work for Humanity.

The result was, one of the largest and most enthusiastic celebrations ever known in our city. It was ushered in with the firing of artillery, from the hills which overlook Cincinnati, and from the neighboring city of Newport, on the Kentucky bank of the Ohio river.

The meeting, which enjoyed and applauded the Oration, Addresses, and Music, was, probably, the largest that ever assembled on such an occasion. GREENWOOD HALL, the great hall of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute, was densely
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filled, and hundreds could not obtain admission; although two other celebrations were in progress at the same hour in the vicinity—that at the Turners' Hall, where the addresses were in the German language; and one in the neighboring city of Newport, Kentucky.

The Committee have much pleasure in presenting to the public, in a permanent form, this record of a public event, which, they trust, marks the dawn of a new era of Intelligence in the appreciation of Worth, and of Courage, and Liberality in the expression of our obligations to PUBLIC BENEFACTORS.

It may be proper to say that, in extending invitations to the speakers, no restriction was made, and no pledge required. Each was left to the free, conscientious performance of his individual duty, and is alone responsible for the sentiments advanced. The spirit of the occasion was one of Freedom and Toleration.

The Committee would express their thanks to all who have in any way contributed to the Great Moral Triumph, which has been achieved in this Celebration; and would encourage the friends of Free Thought to renewed exertions.

THE P A I N E F E S T I V A L.

THE music of the United States' Military Band, from the Government Barracks at Newport, Ky., welcomed an overflowing audience of ladies and gentlemen to GREENWOOD HALL, which was appropriately decorated for the occasion.

ISAAC E. HEDGES, Esq., on taking the Chair, as President of the Festival, addressed the assembly as follows:

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

I have been unexpectedly called upon to preside on this occasion; but while I acknowledge my inability to fill the chair with the fitness the occasion demands, yet I am not disposed to decline the duties and responsibilities of such a position.

I congratulate you my fellow-citizens, of every clime and nation, that a day has dawned upon us, when we can assemble in such vast numbers, to commemorate the noble sentiments of one, who stood out in bold relief before the foes of Human Rights, whether they were Kings, Potentates, or Priests. We meet, not to worship men, but great principles. We are not idolators, or man-worshippers; but we bow humbly, and reverence great truths and holy principles, wherever they are found.

I have no sacrifices to make. They have long since been offered. The natural tendency of my mind has long since led me to look beyond the boundaries of sectarianism, and the popular creeds of the

day; and having early read the "RIGHTS OF MAN," by the IMMORTAL PAINE, I learned to consider it my duty and my privilege to embrace the truth wherever my reason found it,—and fearlessly proclaim it, whether it was in harmony with, or in opposition to, orthodoxy.

Let us ever cherish the generous spirit that inspired our Great Champion of Human Rights, whose very soul could not be confined to a single state or country, but leaped over oceans to find new fields for its philanthropic emotions. Let us ever prove faithful to the trust, secured to our possession by his untiring zeal in the cause of our own glorious country, that the "CRISIS" that once tried men's souls may never again recur.

May the Sun of Liberty, whose dawn was heralded in the morn of the American Revolution by THOMAS PAINE, continue its onward march, until it shall arrive at a fixed and eternal meridian!

MUSIC.—NATIONAL AIRS, BY THE BAND.

ORATION.

BY T. L. NICHOLS, M.D.

MR. PRESIDENT—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—I have accepted with pleasure and with pride, the honorable position your committee has assigned me. It might have been entrusted to one better able to do justice to the demands of this occasion ; but the honor could not have been conferred upon any one who would appreciate it more highly, or who could feel more anxiety to perform worthily the sacred duty of rescuing from the darkness of ignorance, the blight of bigotry, and the calumnies of creed-bound sectarians, the fame of a man, who has done more than to “fill the measure of his country’s glory ;” one who has been a hero and a martyr in the cause of civil and religious liberty throughout the world.

I respond cordially, therefore, to the summons to address you on this occasion, and to the sentiments expressed in the preamble and resolutions, inviting you to join in this celebration ; and I, a stranger here, congratulate you upon the liberality, freedom, and justice, which have prompted your noble response to that invitation.

I congratulate Cincinnati, Queen City of the West, that she has the mind and heart, the manly courage and nobility of soul, to render this tribute of justice to one of the great unappreciated heroes of humanity. I congratulate the Great West upon the spirit of freedom that breathes over her prairies, and flows onward with her

rivers. I congratulate the country that embosoms this glorious home of plenty and of liberty. I congratulate the universal humanity that there is an America, and a Great West, and a queenly city here, and a people, so free, so intelligent, so generous and heroic, as thus to celebrate this anniversary, to vindicate the truth of history, and help to right the wrongs of half a century.

It is right, that the examples of courage, genius and philanthropy in the past, should be held in remembrance for the emulation and gratitude of the present and the future.

It is true, and it is a part of my duty to make it manifest to all who hear me, that the life and writings of THOMAS PAINE prove him to have been a hero, a philosopher, and a philanthropist, and worthy of our admiration and gratitude.

It is true, as will abundantly appear, that his eminent and unequalled services, in the cause of American Independence, and of Civil and Religious Liberty, entitle him especially to the honor and gratitude of every American; and it was, therefore, rightly and nobly resolved to celebrate, here and now, the 119th Anniversary of the Birth-day of the Author-Hero of the Revolution—the vindicator of the rights of man, and the champion of Civil and Religious Liberty, THOMAS PAINE; whose COMMON SENSE awoke the American people to the Declaration of Independence; whose CRISIS, in the times that tried men's souls, gave vigor to our arms; who asserted and defended the Principles of Republican Liberty in both hemispheres; who was the uncompromising foe of all despotisms, and the unwavering friend of Freedom and Humanity.

Most heartily do I respond to this appeal; most cheerfully will I present to you all that is needed to sustain it—the simple facts of the Life of that HONEST MAN, whose birth upon our planet was a blessing to humanity, and rendered illustrious and memorable THE DAY WE CELEBRATE.

THOMAS PAINE, son of an English Quaker, was born at Thetford, England, January 29, 1737. A man of the people, he received only the common rudiments of an English education, and at the age of thirteen was taken from school to assist his father, in his trade of *staymaker*.

A desire for a more active and adventurous life led him, shortly after, to ship on board a British privateer, the celebrated ship "The Terrible," commanded by Captain Death. But his father, fearing to lose his son, and being opposed to wars, as a part of his religious faith, made such an appeal to his youthful feelings, as induced him to return home, and lay aside, for a time, his warlike and adventurous projects.

But his monotonous and distasteful labor was so ill-suited to his active spirit, that he subsequently joined the privateer, King of Prussia, and made a cruise; of the incidents of which he has left no record.

Of the heart-life of this man we have no history. There are, however, a few facts which open that life to the imagination of the sympathetic reader. He was married in 1759, at the age of 22 years, and settled at Sandwich, pursuing his trade. His wife died at the end of the first year of their marriage. In this love and this loss, we have the key to much of his later life. It was a shock from which he seems never to have recovered. If in his later years he seemed a cynic, those who have so loved and suffered, know how to forgive.

At the age of twenty-four he was appointed to a place in the excise, which he held for thirteen years. During this time he married again; but it was an unhappy marriage of convenience; or rather of duty and gratitude. He married the daughter of a deceased friend, and took charge of his family and business. This uncongenial and fruitless bond was, after a few years, severed by mutual consent. So far as is known, Paine lived through his life, like so many other human benefactors—loveless and childless. Severed from ties of family, they adopt the race, and give to humanity those talents and exertions which else might have been, more happily perhaps, but less usefully, expended in the narrow circle of a home. The ages of the past have been ages of sacrifice, and the world's saviors have borne their crosses, and their crowns have been crowns of thorns.

In 1774, at the age of 37, flying from the scene of so much unhappiness, Paine went to London. Here he turned his attention

to scientific pursuits, and among the philosophers with whom he became acquainted, was Dr. Franklin, whose eminent practical sagacity recognized his fitness for the new world ; and he accordingly advised him to try his fortunes in America. He followed this advice, and his destiny, and came to Philadelphia, where he first secured employment as editor of the Pennsylvania Magazine, for which he wrote some pleasant essays and poems.

Thus, in the prime and vigor of his early manhood, chastened in the school of adversity, unperverted and uncorrupted by either a religious or scholastic education ; a self-taught, self-made man, he found himself a citizen of the New World, at the outbreak of the American Revolution. His scientific and literary pursuits had introduced him to the society of Franklin, Rush, Barlow, and other eminent men, and he joined in their discussions on the condition of the colonies, and their relations to the mother country.

To appreciate the work which Thomas Paine was now destined to perform, we must remember the state of affairs at that period. The idea of liberty and independence had come to but few of the foremost minds of that age. The great mass of the American colonists, both the people and their leaders, were thoroughly loyal, and strongly attached to Great Britain. They believed in the Divine Right of Kings ; the sacredness of hereditary rule, and in the obligations of loyalty. But there was also a feeling of sturdy determination to maintain their constitutional rights. In this state of things, in 1776, taking counsel with the leaders of the Republican movement, Thomas Paine burst upon the country with his "COMMON SENSE." It was a trumpet peal, which awoke the Colonies to the thought of independence, and prepared them for the contest in which it was won. He taught the people that freedom and security were the true objects of government, and that the simplest form, by which these ends could be attained, was the best ; that " of more worth is one honest man to society, and in the sight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived."

With the religious faith and feeling which characterize all his works, he says :

"The reformation was preceded by the discovery of America, as

if the Almighty graciously meant to open a sanctuary to the persecuted in future years, when home should afford neither friendship nor safety."

And after the most cogent arguments in favor of independence, and a free government, he closes with this noble and eloquent appeal :

"O, ye that love mankind ! ye that dare oppose, not only tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth ! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. Oh ! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind."

The effect of this pamphlet, "*Common Sense*" is, probably, without a parallel in human literature. The first emotion it produced was terror—the next feeling was conviction, and then came an enthusiasm for its principles that resulted in the Declaration of Independence. Contemporary testimony is unanimous on this point. The friends of liberty were cheered onward ; those who wavered were made firm, and thousands were converted. "*COMMON SENSE*" was the knell of European despotism, and the tocsin of American liberty.

Paine did not only *write* for freedom, but volunteered as a soldier in the continental army,—giving this personal testimony to the sincerity of his principles. In this position he became the guest of Washington, and the friend of Lafayette and the principal officers of the American army—with many of whom he lived on terms of intimacy to the close of his life.

But the struggle of the Revolution was long and severe ; and there were times when the bravest might well lose courage and the most sanguine despair. It was not enough to arouse the spirit of the country—it required to be sustained. The people were soon tired of the war. The militia, drafted for brief terms of service, and unused to the hardships of the camp, were leaving the army. Our cities were occupied by the enemy ; his ships filled our harbors and bays, and the frontiers swarmed with his savage allies. In this day of darkness and despair, Thomas Paine came to the rescue.

It was not Washington, nor the Adamses, nor Franklin, nor Jefferson ; the men we call, and rightly call, the Fathers of the Republic, who were chosen as the instrument of Providence, in this emergency, but the calumniated Thomas Paine. His "CRISIS" went forth to the country like the clarion peal of victory, in the midst of disaster and defeat. It opens with the inspiration of genius, and its first sentence is the sound of a trumpet which will reverberate through all time :

"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country ; but he that stands it NOW, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman." *

The disheartened soldier, who was leaving the army, turned back and renewed his enlistment ; the farmer left the plough in the furrow ; the mechanic, his unfinished work on the bench. Men and means gathered around the Standard of Liberty. Members of the Continental Congress returned to their post of duty. The CRISIS was read to every corporal's guard in the army ; and courage and confidence succeeded to terror and despair.

A man of the people, Thomas Paine knew how to appeal to the popular heart. Sincere and earnest in his devotion to Liberty, he inspired others with the same zeal. His appeals were prompted by a higher feeling even than patriotism—by the principles of Justice, and the dictates of Humanity.

"Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods," he says, in this remarkable production, "and it would be strange indeed, if so *celestial* an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated."

"I love the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength by distress, and grow brave by reflection."

"We live in a large world, and have extended our ideas beyond the limits and prejudices of an Island. We hold out the right hand of fellowship to the universe."

It was in this spirit that Thomas Paine incited and led on the Revolution, which owes as much to his single pen, as to the swords of all its heroes. At every stage of that great struggle, he wrote a *new number of the Crisis*, which was distributed to the army and

country. Well has he been denominated the "Author-Hero" of the Revolution; and well might Jefferson bear testimony to the fact, which bigots have almost made the world forget, that Thomas Paine "had done as much as any man living, to establish the Freedom of America." During the war, he served, also, as Secretary of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of the Continental Congress; as Clerk of the Legislature of Pennsylvania; he volunteered to be one of a party to burn the British fleet in the Delaware; and he accompanied Mr. Laurens to France, and aided to secure a loan of ten millions livres, and a present from the French Crown, of six millions.

For these great and inestimable services, he received, in 1785, the thanks of Congress; and a pecuniary remuneration of \$3,000. The State of Pennsylvania voted him five hundred pounds currency; and the State of New York granted him a farm of three hundred acres, at New Rochelle. This may have been enough to satisfy the simple tastes of Thomas Paine, but scarcely enough to evince the gratitude of a magnanimous nation. In his case, our Republic has not been merely ungrateful; but it has permitted religious bigotry and proscription to cover with ignominy, the name of one who deserves both honor and gratitude.

The war was over, and Paine turned his attention to the arts of peace. He invented an Iron Bridge, and went to France and England to secure patents in those countries. This project, which had but a moderate success, seems to have been a means by which Providence led him to new fields of labor in the cause of Freedom and Humanity. It was the period of the French Revolution, which followed the American. Its principles were attacked with eloquent sophistries by Edmund Burke, but Thomas Paine defended them by publishing, in 1791, in England, bearding the British Lion in his den, his immortal work, "THE RIGHTS OF MAN."

In this work he asserted the great principles of Human Liberty; eternal, impregnable, and as fresh to-day as in all the cycles of the past. He overthrew the basis of hereditary power, by showing that man never could have the right of binding or controlling his posterity by institutions, or governments, or creeds, or laws.

He defined the natural rights of man, as those which always appertain to him, in right of his existence. Life, itself, brings to every being the right of seeking his own happiness, or the greatest enjoyment of that life, which can be exercised without injury to the equal rights of others.

Thus every civil right rests on natural right. Society and government are for the guarantee and protection of every natural right; none are surrendered; but only, as a matter of convenience, in certain cases, delegated to others.

"Public good," he says elsewhere, in his Discourse on Government, "is not a term opposed to the good of individuals; on the contrary, it is the good of every individual collected. It is the good of all, because it is the good of every one."

It is this principle I have tried to bring to the comprehension of those who are placing institutions above humanity; and who would have every individual suffer, for the general good.

Paine understood the true basis of Human Society, or of whatever government or regulation it requires, in the affections or attractions of the Human Soul—those Attractions which, as Fourier has said, are proportional to Destinies.

"The wants and affections of man," he says, "impel him to form societies."

"Formal government makes but a small part of civilized life."

"The more perfect civilization is, the less occasion has it for government, because the more does it regulate its own affairs, and govern itself."

"All the great Laws of Society are Laws of Nature."

"Man has no authority over posterity in matters of personal right. All hereditary government is, in its nature, tyranny."

"All delegated power is trust—and all assumed power is usurpation."

Such are some of the fundamental principles, announced in Paines' treatise on "The Rights of Man;" principles which have a wider application, it may be, than he suspected—principles which are universal and unchangeable—because true; for there are axioms in *social and political science*, as in *mathematics*.

No man ever comprehended the Age in which he lived, and the great thought and work of that Age, better than did Thomas Paine, and no man has given clearer evidence of genius or inspiration. Thus he says :

“The present Age will hereafter merit to be called the Age of Reason, and the present generation will appear to the future as the Adam of a New World.”

“An army of principles will penetrate where an army of soldiers can not ; it will succeed, where diplomatic management will fail ; it is neither the Rhine, the Channel, nor the Ocean, that can arrest its progress ; it will march on the horizon of the world, and it will conquer.”

Such was this man's faith in principles ; such his consciousness of the power of truth ; for he believed that—

“Such is the irresistible nature of truth, that all it asks, and all it wants, is the liberty of appearing.”

Has any man, in any Age, given utterance to a more sublime faith ?

And these principles, stated with great clearness, and supported by a power of illustration that rendered them irresistible, are radical, fundamental, and universal. They are the basis of all right ; and opposed to every wrong. The most advanced reformer of this day does no more than to extend, to a wider and more comprehensive sphere, the application of the principles of the “Rights of Man,” as stated, and in the statement demonstrated, by Thomas Paine. It was this work that excited Mary Wollstonecraft to write her noble “vindication of the Rights of Woman.” And these principles, the basis of the Declaration of American Independence, and its claim to the great rights of “Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness,” have only to be carried out to their legitimate ultimations, to accomplish for Humanity that integral and Universal Freedom which is the condition of Progress, Development, Harmony and Happiness.

Political independence and reforms in Government did not satisfy his principles or his philanthropy. Paine was a Socialist. He pressed upon legislators the duty of securing to all men the means of happiness ; of protecting the rights of honest poverty against the

usurpations and plunderings of wealth ; and while his writings against superstition and priestcraft, brought upon him the hatred of sectarians, his Essay on Agrarian Justice offended the wealthy and aristocratic. But Paine, like every other man who is in advance of his own age, must look for justice to posterity.

The publication of the Rights of Man in England, brought upon Paine the prosecution of the Crown ; but while he was waiting the result of a trial, he was informed by an embassy from France, that he had been elected, with several other distinguished personages, a citizen of the French Republic, and also by the citizens of Calais, a member of the National Convention. Called to this new field of labor, he left England, and published an address accepting the honor of citizenship, and the post of Representative. He was a member of the Convention, in that stormy period ; he voted and spoke in favor of the trial of Louis XVI., but his humanity revolted at the idea of unnecessary bloodshed, and he earnestly opposed the execution of the King, and asked, as a favor to America, that he might be permitted to come to this country, and end his days in peace. This brave effort to save a human life, and the life of a King, caused his own imprisonment, in the reign of terror, and his own condemnation to the guillotine, from which he providentially escaped. I say *providentially*, for such was his own belief.

We come now to a consideration of that portion of the life and work of this extraordinary man, which has doomed him to the calumnies and execrations of the ignorant and fanatical ; but which, when truly examined, will be considered as honorable and useful as any portion of his career. He had been the instrument of Providence, in the birth of the Great Republic ; he had struck a blow at Hereditary Rule, and the Divine Rights of Kingly Despotisms in Europe, from which they can never recover. He had now another war to wage with intolerance, bigotry, and religious proscription and persecution.

Thomas Paine was a religious man. Born a Quaker, while free from sectarian creeds, he inherited a spiritual impressibility. He was a man of intuitions. In our day he would be called a Spiritualist—he would be claimed as a MEDIUM.

This is not mere assertion—his writings contain abundant evidence of all I assert. First, of what I term his mediumship, or susceptibility to spiritual impressions, I quote a paragraph from the *Age of Reason*, in which he says :

“There are two distinct classes of what are called thoughts ; those that we produce in ourselves by reflection and the act of thinking, and those that bolt into the mind of their own accord. I have always made it a rule to treat those voluntary visitors with civility, taking care to examine, as well as I was able, if they were worth entertaining ; and it is from them that I have acquired about all the knowledge I possess.”

Mr. Paine had his religious convictions, and he was faithful to them. He intended to write a work on religion, to devote to it his matured powers, and to publish it toward the close of his life, making his dying testimony an evidence of the sincerity of his opinions. But the Reign of Terror, that inversion of the Revolution, whose internal history has never yet been truly written, by making his death probable at any time, hastened this work. He could not leave the world without bearing his testimony ; consequently, in France, with the guillotine flashing death upon him ; with his friends falling on the right and the left, and his own life in imminent peril, he sat down to compose the “*AGE OF REASON*.” Let us take his own solemn declaration of the motives of that work. The people of France, he says, oppressed for ages by religious superstition and despotism, were rushing into the opposite extreme of a blank atheism. Paine wrote the *Age of Reason*, to prove the existence of a God and immortality ; and I know of no work extant, in which these two articles of his creed are more powerfully and convincingly sustained.

He wrote the first part of the *Age of Reason*, including the criticisms on the Old and New Testament, without a Bible or Testament to refer to ; hurried by the prospect of the threatening guillotine ; and six hours after it was finished, he was arrested. He gave the manuscript into the hands of Mr. Barlow, on his way to prison, that it might not be lost. If there ever was a dying testimony, this is one, for his death seemed inevitable.

Eleven months of imprisonment was terminated by the death of Robespierre, and his own restoration to his seat in the convention.

In his earlier works, Paine had advocated Religious Liberty as a right of Humanity. In the "Rights of Man," he says:

"The first act of man, when he looked around, and saw himself a creature which he did not make, and a world furnished for his reception, must have been devotion, and devotion must ever continue sacred to every individual man, as it appears right to him."

Elsewhere he says:

"Religion is man bringing to his maker the fruits of his heart, the offering of his adoration. It is the equal right of all, to do this in his own way, and the grateful tribute of every heart is acceptable to the Almighty."

These are the words of the Infidel, Thomas Paine. But in the "Age of Reason" he defines his own belief; in that book he says:

"I believe in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life."

"I do not mean by this declaration to condemn those who believe otherwise. They have the same right to their belief as I have in mine. *But it is necessary to the happiness of man, that he be mentally faithful to himself.*"

The literature of the world does not contain a more beautiful declaration of tolerance of the opinions of others, and the duty of fidelity to our own.

"I trouble not myself," he says, "about the manner of future existence. I content myself with believing, *even to positive conviction*, that the power that gave me existence is able to continue it, in any form or manner he pleases, either with or without this body; and it appears more probable to me that I shall continue to exist hereafter, than that I should have had existence, as I now have, before that existence began."

"The consciousness of existence is the only conceivable idea we can have of another life—and the continuance of that consciousness is immortality."

But he did not believe the Bible, you say. So much of it he believed; all of it, he certainly did not. He says of the Old Testament:

"It is a history of wickedness, that has served to corrupt and brutalize mankind; and, for my own part, I sincerely detest it, as I detest every thing that is cruel."

And holding to this belief, he had no power, as an honest and most conscientious man, to conceal it from his fellow-men. Thomas Paine was not only no hypocrite, but he was no selfist, time-server, or coward. He knew his work, and he did it. He said:

"When a man has so far corrupted and prostituted the chastity of his mind, as to subscribe his professional belief to things he does not believe, he has prepared himself for the commission of every other crime."

But if Paine did not believe in all that is contained in the Bible, he did believe in, and most truly revered, the Word of God. Here is his own statement:

"THE WORD OF GOD IS THE CREATION WE BEHOLD, and it is in *this word*, which no human inventors can counterfeit or alter, that God speaketh universally to man."

Elsewhere he says:

"The creation we behold is the real and ever existing word of God, in which we can not be deceived. It proclaims his power; it demonstrates his wisdom; it manifests his goodness and benevolence."

And he wrote his "Age of Reason," the most abused, perhaps, of all human productions, with this noble purpose:

"To relieve and tranquilize the minds of millions, and free them from hard thoughts of the Almighty."

A noble purpose; a sublime faith; a conscientious endeavor; what can we ask more?

Thomas Paine was a man of great honesty of purpose, as well as freedom of thought. He did what he believed to be right, acting under a noble sense of duty, and caring little for consequences to his person or reputation. In this he was an example to all reformers—a resolute, heroic character, whom those who hate must still respect. His sentiment, in the Rights of Man, respecting the squandering of public money, is a lesson which too many of our politicians need to study. He says:

"Public money ought to be touched with the most scrupulous consciousness of honor. It is not the produce of riches only, but

the hard earnings of labor and poverty. It is drawn from the bitterness of want and misery. Not a beggar passes, or perishes in the street, whose mite is not in that mass."

Few men have seemed so unselfish as Paine. He was poor, and though a small copy-right on "Common Sense" would have enriched him, he gave it to the legislatures of the several States. He made a donation of each number of the *Crisis* to the cause. He refused large sums for his "Rights of Man," that it might be circulated in cheap editions, throughout Great Britain. He never pressed his claims upon the country for his unequally and almost wholly unrequited services. The three thousand dollars given by Congress was a remuneration for sacrifices, and it was left to the State of New York, to provide, by her moderate but sufficient bounty, for the wants of his declining years.

In regard to the character of Thomas Paine, we have the following testimony from Joel Barlow, a gentleman of high position and distinguished talent. Mr. Barlow says he was "one of the most benevolent and disinterested of mankind." He was one of the most instructive men I have ever known; charitable to the poor, beyond his means, and a sure protector and friend to Americans in distress in foreign countries.

"As to his religious opinions, as they were those of probably three-fourths of the men of letters of the last Age, and of nearly all those of the present, I see no reason why they should form a distinctive character in him."

I am not inclined to claim for him this undistinctive character.

Paine is distinguished—nobly and heroically distinguished from nearly all the men of letters, in that age and this, by his conscience and courage. He saw and knew as well as we see now, that had he concealed his religious convictions in deference to popular sentiment, he would have been honored and applauded, instead of defamed and calumniated. Had he bowed to the church, or even kept silent, a mantle of charity would have been spread over any human errors or weaknesses, and his name would have been heard *in every blast* of the trump of fame, and swelled in capitals in *every Fourth of July* oration. Had he been a politic, a worldly, a

selfish, a dishonest man, he would have done this : but he was too unselfish, too honest, too faithful to his interior convictions, his sense of duty, and the leadings of Providence to shrink from his work, though it might lead to ignominy and martyrdom.

Outlawed by the British Government, whose cruisers covered the seas, and who searched for him in vessels in which it was supposed he had taken passage, Mr. PAINE returned with difficulty to the United States, in 1802. Outlawed by the priesthood, and pious people of this country, he lived in New York and its vicinity seven years, in comparative obscurity and isolation, suffering in age, disease, and loneliness, all the calumnies that a fanatical malice could heap upon him, and an ingratitude, for which it belongs to us to make a tardy, but sincere reparation. He died at the age of 72, in a firm belief in the principles he had held through his life, and, of consequence, in the assured hope of a blessed immortality beyond the grave.

Such was the life, and such the character and doctrines of this man. Had he been less honest, less philanthropic, less entitled to the admiration and gratitude of mankind, the whole world would have sung his praises ; and we should not have been required to demand of a creed-darkened age, **JUSTICE TO THE MEMORY OF THOMAS PAINE.**

And there shall be justice, honor, and immortality to the memory of this man, when the names of some to whom Peans are now shouting, shall be lost in oblivion. When the tyrants and despots of mankind are no more feared ; when king-craft and priest-craft are no more honored ; when usurpation and oppression, bigotry and superstition, the frauds of the crafty and the plunderings of the powerful, no longer spread ignorance, poverty, vice, and misery over the earth, then will free, enlightened men do justice to the memory of THOMAS PAINE. And no true justice can be done to him, until we come to the realization of the principles he taught. We honor a conqueror, when the conquest is achieved. We celebrate a triumph when the victory is won. The heroes of American Independence, who were satisfied with that achievement, have received the honors awarded by a grateful country. But the greater work, and the nobler ambition of this man of principles, is yet to be accomplished.

It is the future that will witness his triumph, and from the future will come his full reward.

It was not enough for him that America was free—he asked the freedom of universal man. It was not enough that victory perched upon the starry banner of the new republic; wherever the flag of freedom was unfurled, there was his post of duty. His country was the world; his sympathies were with the oppressed of every land; his great heart would have given freedom, hope, and happiness to all mankind.

When man shall be free from the rule of despots and despotic institutions; free from the chains of superstition and the terrors of religious proscription; free from the creeds, and bigotries, and fanaticism of the ages of ignorance and credulity; free from intolerance, injustice, and oppression of every kind, then will the life, and thought, and character of THOMAS PAINE be understood, and his memory duly honored.

Let us do our duty as bravely, as earnestly, as unselfishly, as unflinchingly as he did his. Let us honor the memory of this heroic man by living the principles he taught; by resisting every oppression and injustice, and ceasing to be oppressive and unjust. It is by giving vitality to the principles of a man that we pay the the highest honor to his memory.

The time is coming when the true reformers of mankind shall be honored as they deserve. America will repent of her ingratitude. She will rise above the mists of error that have obscured her vision. Free from the bondage of a foreign yoke, she will throw off the shackles that fetter her mind and heart; and when she has comprehended a true, integral freedom, that recognizes every right of humanity, she will be ready to do the justice we demand. The historian who writes for that future will record the services of THOMAS PAINE. On the roll of fame which that future shall emblazon, no name of the past shall brighten with a clearer luster, in the constellation of heroic benefactors, his star shall shine, immortal as his Principles.

“And the “COMMON SENSE” of mankind shall triumph in the “CRISIS” of this great contest for universal freedom; and THOMAS PAINE shall find justice, when an “AGE OF REASON” shall inaugurate the “RIGHTS OF MAN!”

ADDRESS OF F. HASSAUREK, ESQ.

MR. PRESIDENT—

A LITTLE flock of snow begins to roll from the top of the mountain ; rolling, it augments and waxes greater and greater, till it becomes that formidable mass, which precipitates itself into the dale, sweeping along with it the animals of the forest and the shepherd of the Alps, breaking off the heaven-kissing oak and the mighty rock, burying finally the cottages at the foot of the mountain, and carrying death to the unfortunate peasant, who was not aware of the danger, which rapidly hastened to his ruin. And yet this tremendous, irresistibly destroying mass was, in its beginning, a little flock of snow.

Such is the course of Truth. Solitary and alone, it may live for centuries in the minds of a few. The prejudices of the masses are aroused against it. A hundred times it may be put down by the brutal force of despotism or succumb to the slanders, calumnies, and persecutions of ignorance and bigotry. Unfortunate will be the fate of those who dare to proclaim it to a benighted world. But, sir, like that little flock of snow, it waxes and waxes—it gains one inch of ground after the other, it enlightens the heads and electrifies the hearts of men, till it becomes an irresistible power, sweeping every thing before it, and annihilating the impotent knaves who undertake to resist it. Lies may triumph a thousand times—it is not forever—truth will and must prevail. The chariot of history is forward bound, and forward it goes in spite of all delays, crushing the holy or unholy hands of those who try to take hold of its spokes.

We are assembled here to-night, to witness the mighty progress of truth. There was a time, not long ago, when the name of THOMAS PAINE was only heard, if some priestly bigot used it in a sermon, to

cover it with cursing, slander, and abuse. There was a time, when the friends of THOMAS PAINE had to go to a private room and to close the doors behind them, if they intended to celebrate his birth-day. There was a time, when it was considered an evidence of the utmost depravity, to sympathize with his views and principles. There was a time, when in a city like Cincinnati, you would not have found a dozen, or perhaps not half a dozen of men, who had the moral courage to avow that they were PAINE men. But, sir, I say it with a rejoicing heart, *this time has passed away*. Amidst the night of superstition we see the morning dawn of the "*Age of Reason*."

The times have changed. We now see the birth-day of THOMAS PAINE celebrated by a vast and respectable concourse of people. We hear the roaring of the cannon, echoing a national salute on that solemn occasion. We see thinking men of all classes, willing to do justice to the memory of a man, to whom this republic is indebted more than to any other for its liberty. We see many who do warmly sympathize with the principles of that noble Apostle of Freedom, whose motto it has been, "*the world is my country, to do good my religion*."

Sir, it is with feelings of gratitude, that every friend of this country should remember the name of THOMAS PAINE. You all know that even in the year 1775, but a few men in the colonies thought of independence, and even those few did not dare to speak out their sentiments. The people in general did yet adhere to the crown, notwithstanding the wrongs they had suffered from it; they were proud to be citizens of Great Britain, and only to maintain their rights as such, they had taken up arms against the mother country. But still they tried every means to bring about a reconciliation. Still they relied on the fairness of the king and did not dream of dissolution. But, sir, when the last petition of Congress was even refused an answer by the crown; when a foreign legion was enlisted to force the colonists to an unconditional surrender; then a general terror pervaded their minds—nobody knew what steps to take, what course to pursue. Amidst this general confusion and *helplessness*, a little pamphlet appeared, which, like a sudden lightning, flashed up in the minds of the people, and at once pointed out

the only way on which they had to resolve for the maintenance of their safety, the preservation of liberty, and the acquisition of happiness and grandeur. Till now they were *Britons*—this pamphlet with the irresistible power of truth, taught them to be *Americans*. This immortal pamphlet was the "*Common Sense*" of THOMAS PAINE. Its consequence was the Declaration of American Independence.

And, Sir, when at the end of the year 1776, the American army was defeated at Long Island ; when General Washington was forced to retreat to New York, leaving Fort Washington and Fort Lee in the hands of the enemy ; when even the most courageous began to falter, when company after company disbanded, and the people were about to give up all hopes of final success ; at that dark hour of trial a little tract appeared headed "*The Crisis*," signed "*Common Sense*," and beginning with those memorable words : "*These are the times that try men's souls.*" And so wonderful was the effect of that tract, that the old enthusiasm was instantly revived. The deserting soldiers hastened back to their colors, the disbanded legislators of New York assembled again, and a new strength of resistance pervaded the people. The effect of that tract was the defeat of the British army. And whenever the battle's fortune changed, whenever the soldiers began to flinch, THOMAS PAINE wrote another number of the "*Crisis*," thus inflaming the patriots to new deeds of heroism. So we can justly say,

Without the pen of THOMAS PAINE,
WASHINGTON'S sword had fought in vain.

But, Sir, not only with the pen did he render services to the country of his choice, to liberty and to mankind ; he also took the musket on his shoulder, enlisted himself into the army and fought the battles of freedom. And not only his life did he offer on the altar of American Independence, not only the emanations of his genius did he extend to the people, for he never took payment for any of his writings ; yea, his money also, if he had some, was ready whenever material aid was needed. At the height of financial distress, when it was remarked in the Legislature of Pennsylvania by one of the members, that it would be best to give up the war, if

there was no money to carry it on ; THOMAS PAINE, he then being Clerk of that body, opened a subscription, which he headed himself by subscribing his entire salary. This generous example was followed, and \$300,000 were realized, by which a bank could be created and the exigencies of the moment defrayed. Such were the merits of THOMAS PAINE. Such was his character. Such deeds, Sir, should entitle him to a high place in the hearts of all, that are true to freedom.

Why is it then, that the name of such a man is cursed with villainous abuse and slander ? Why is he treated with such an ingratitude ? Why do even historians, affecting impartiality, ignore his name as much as they absolutely can ? Why are there no processions, invitations, and illuminations on his birth-day ? Why are his merits unknown to a people on whom he bestowed but infinite blessings ?

It is because he has written the " Age of Reason." And what is the Age of Reason ? Why, it is the truth ! But, Sir, how can the truth be welcome to those, *who feed on lies* ? If men should follow their own reason and stand on their own feet, instead of using mental and moral crutches, what would become of authorities ?

By his " Age of Reason," THOMAS PAINE has offended a class of men, to whom nothing is so dangerous as reason, who fear nothing but the truth. And, Sir, because they could not refute the arguments of his work, they blackened the character of the author, they soiled his honor with calumny and invented lies, to disgrace his memory.

This is the old policy of priestcraft. They slander those whom they can not refute. If you prove them an undeniable truth, they will call you a thief. If you show them an undisputable historical fact, bearing testimony against their ambitious and avaricious aims, they will charge you with having committed a forgery. If you expose their contradictions and the absurdity of their teachings, they will call you a murderer. They will never go into your arguments ; no, Sir, they will try to kill you off morally, and to soil the most unimpeachable character, by the spots of calumnation.

These are the tactics of the Church in its warfare against its

enemies. For this reason, the struggle against error, superstition, and bigotry is so hard a one, because the Church uses every means, be it as dark as it may be, to discourage those who engage in it. The Church will not be satisfied to ruin your reputation; no, Sir, your business must be injured, your earnings impaired, and, if possible, your fortune destroyed. These are the tactics of those who pretend to be followers of the man, who, dying on the cross, tendered forgiveness to his enemies.

And now, Sir, I ask you whether, instead of cursing the infidel, you ought not to esteem the man, that has the moral courage to face those persecutions, and in spite of them to persevere in what he believes to be right? Oh! if I would go to Church, notwithstanding my infidelity, if I would wring the hands, elevate the eyes and cry: "O, Lord! what a sinner I am!" then all would be right. Then the Church would have no objection against me. But because I say what I think, because I do not conceal my sentiments, I must be exposed to abuse and persecution. What is the gist of that? The gist of it is, that, not true men are wanted, but hypocrites. Whether you believe or not, no body cares for, if you only *affect* to believe. You may think what you please, but you must not tell it. You may entertain what ideas you choose, but you must not damage the holy trade of the Church, by expressing them.

Can such a state of things last forever?

No, Sir, it can not.

Let some fifty or hundred years be elapsed, and posterity will laugh at our follies. For in the more enlightened centuries which will come, mankind will smile at *our* delusions, as we smile at the mythological fables of the ancient Egyptians, Romans, or Greeks. Posterity will be astonished at the idea that men, living in the age of the telegraph and of steam, could have believed that God needed six days to make the world out of nothing, and that he rested on the seventh. That he, the all-merciful, condemned a whole, yet unborn race, because their grand-ancestor had eaten an apple; that he, the most benevolent, gave the first man a command, whose violation he, who knows every thing, must have foreseen; that he, the Almighty, had no other means to redeem mankind from the con-

sequences of his own severe judgment, than to kill his own son for an offence, which another had committed; that this son was borne by a mother who remained virgin after having been delivered of a child; that some three or five loaves of bread and a few fishes were sufficient to feed several thousand men, women, and children, and yet to gather twelve baskets full of remainders; that the walls of Jericho fell at the sound of Joshua's trumpets; that Elias rode to heaven in a fiery coach. Yes, Sir, posterity will smile at the credulity of millions of adults who, though they were in full possession of their senses, could believe in such absurdities.

Believe! Do they really believe? This is an important question. I venture to say, Mr. President, though it may be an audacious assertion, that not one half of those whom you may find visiting the churches, paying high rent for their pews, and affecting such a zealous piety, that they are always ready to throw stones on the "dark-hearted" infidel, as they call him; that not one half of these men, Mr. President, do really believe *themselves*, what they charge *us* with *not believing*.

We live in the age of hypocrisy. It is much more easy to worship the prejudices of public opinion, than to oppose them. It is more comfortable to be with the great mass, than with a persecuted, slandered minority. It is more easy to conceal our inmost thoughts and sell our convictions, than to openly proclaim them before the eyes of the world. There is one great want in the ordinary man—it is the want of moral courage. Thus, wrong is sanctioned; thus even many a thinking man shrinks at the idea of seceding from the broad and regular course of custom, and hence he flatters prejudice and bows to superstition, so that he might not be made an outcast of society, anathematized by those dark powers, who affect to rule the minds and consciences of men.

But there is yet another, and I believe the main reason, to which the power of superstition is to be ascribed. You will find it in the relations of business and trade. It is one of the exigencies of a well conducted house, firm, or concern, that its owner belong to some orthodox Church. It is sometimes far more profitable for him to be *frequently seen in the house of the Lord* by his congregated brethren,

than to insert his card into the columns of a newspaper. The physician wants patients, the lawyer clients, the merchant customers ; why should they not profit by the occasion of acquiring a whole stock of the desired patronizers, by becoming members of a Christian congregation. It is not *Jehovah*, they worship ; it is the *golden calf*.

Christ was sold for thirty pieces of silver ; and, Sir, there are men, calling themselves Christians, and being acknowledged as such, who would sell him for a *dime* ! They are wandering books of account, having a ledger in the place of their brains, and a fire-proof iron safe in the place of their hearts. Religion is nothing to them, but an account, whose Dr's by far overbalance its necessary Cr's, and so, as they have to pay for rent, gas, clerk, stock, taxes, etc., they pay the fees of membership and the rent of a pew in their respective churches.

There are none of that class here this evening. They would not visit such a celebration, not even for the sake of curiosity. They affect a holy horror, and utter with elevated eyes—"I thank thee, O God, that I am not like other men !"

But, Sir, if there are so many who don't believe what they pretend, you will ask me, who does ? There are many who do. But why ? Because they have never investigated. They never reflected. They took it for granted that what they believed was true, and so they never happened to trouble their minds with doubt. They preferred to follow the broad path of custom, instead of thinking for themselves. There are thousands, I am sure, who only lacked the impulse inducing them to meditation. Had they had that impulse, they would be with us in fact, or, at least, in sympathy.

But who should give that impulse ? The Press ? Is the Press at liberty to speak out its sentiments ? It is not. Now, suppose the editors of all the city papers were infidels, as in my private opinion they really are ; suppose they were all PAINE men, who fully endorsed the sentiments of this meeting, could they come out to-morrow and tell it to their readers ? Could they report that there was an enthusiastic meeting, which did justice to the memory of a great, but villified and slandered man ? Could they defend the merits of

that man against his blinded or bigotted assailants? No, Sir, they could *not*, and even if they *would*, they would expose themselves to the hatred and persecution of an almighty clergy; they would expose themselves to the slings and arrows of prejudice and fanaticism; they would lose a majority of their subscribers—each being afraid of being suspected as an infidel, should he take an infidel paper; they would lose their job and advertising patronage, and thus soon ruin their business and peril their existence.

Thus, the Press, kept in such a state of dependence, is forced hypocritically to disguise its own sentiments; it can not express its real views, but must ignore the truth and yield to injustice. Entertaining, perhaps, the same opinions which are expressed by this meeting, it can not dare to say so. Such is the power of prejudice and superstition; such is the power of the Church in a country where no union of Church and State is said to exist.

It is said that we enjoy liberty of conscience. Yes, Sir, it is so, if we belong to the regular old line "Christianity." But not if we are "bolters." You may be the most honest and upright man, a tender father and a virtuous husband; you may be a benefactor to the poor and a counselor of the oppressed; you may have bestowed, like THOMAS PAINE, infinite blessings upon your country, and on humanity. If you have not the right kind of religion, if you dare to think in your own way, instead of bringing your mind to a priestly foundry and letting it be molded into the form of a creed, you will be hated, slandered, and persecuted.

But, Sir, night can not last forever. Once the sun must rise. And a sun will rise, whose light will banish all the reverend owls and bats, who can do their preying work in darkness only. Sooner or later, mankind will come to the conclusion that priests are an unnecessary evil; that they have brought but mischief and misery into the human family; that they have sown the seeds of discord between men and men; exciting bloody wars and cruel persecutions merely for the purpose of satisfying their lusts, their avarice, and ambition; that they have carried on an incessant warfare against truth and reason, kindling the wood-piles and inventing the tortures of the inquisition; that they always have stood on the side of des-

potism, proning the human mind to submission and servility; that they have delayed the progress of the human race, by keeping up ignorance and superstition; that they have upset virtue and justice and sanctioned hypocrisy.

When mankind will come to that conclusion, when the bright sunshine of truth will have dispersed the clouds of error and deception, then, Mr. President, the 29th of January will be remembered as the birth-day of one of the noblest martyrs of the holy cause of Freedom.

To do good was his religion! Can there be any nobler, any higher, any shorter creed, than this? It needs no costly edifices of worship; it needs no fanatical priests, it needs no pews nor sextons. An intelligent mind and a well-meaning heart, is all it requires. *To do good was his religion!* Aye, ye bigots, who stand outside of this hall, pointing at the windows and cursing the so-called infidels that are assembled here, can you say, with your hearts excited by hatred, bigotry, and passion, and inflamed by the spirit of persecution, can you say that your religion consists in doing good? No, you can not. Well, then, learn from the man whose memory you blacken, *that true religion*, which you entirely lack, notwithstanding your creeds, churches and priests. Mark his words—

“He that *can not* reason is a *fool*,
He that *will not* reason is a *bigot*,
He that *dares not* reason is a *slave*.”

The ball is in motion and will not stop. A time will come when the memory of THOMAS PAINE, instead of being cursed by ignorant fanaticism and malicious bigotry, will be blessed by an enlightened and intelligent posterity. A time will come when the Birth-day of THOMAS PAINE will be observed as a national holiday; a time will come when those principles for which PAINE has struggled with indefatigable perseverance and untainted disinterestedness, will achieve their final victory over the enemies of freedom; a time will come, when no persecution for opinion's sake will disgrace the human family; when you will not be exposed to malice and slander, because you do not believe, what a man with a long, black coat, a solemn

countenance and a white cravat, commands you to believe ; a time, when there will be no reflections of hatred cast upon you, because you choose to make use of your own reason, instead of submitting to the authority of an old Jewish book, full of contradictions, absurdities and immoralities ; a time will come, when a man will not be proscribed, because he happened to be born on the other side of the Atlantic ocean ; a time will come, when a human being will not be made a slave, because the skin of his parents was a little darker than that of those who affect to be his masters.

When this time will have arrived, an enlightened mankind, I repeat it, will bless the memory of the author of the "*Rights of Man.*"

MUSIC:

"THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER,"

BY THE BAND.

SINGING:

GERMAN SONG,

BY THE UNION CHOIR.

The opening Address of the PRESIDENT, the Oration of DR. NICHOLS, and the Address of MR. HASSAUREK, were greeted with frequent, general, and hearty applause. DR. NICHOLS then, in behalf of the committee, reported the following Resolutions, which were unanimously adopted :

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

After the delivery of the Oration, the Marseilles was played with admirable effect, by the United States military band, of the government barracks at Newport, Kentucky; and an able and eloquent address delivered by FREDERICK HASSAUREK, Esq., Editor of the German "*Hochwächter*;" after which Dr. NICHOLS, in behalf of the committee, reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

RESOLUTIONS

Resolved, That the genius, integrity, and philanthropy, the devotion to principles, and the unequalled services of THOMAS PAINE, in the cause of American Independence and the Rights of Man, entitle him to national honors, and "the love and thanks of man and woman."

Resolved, That we commend to all Reformers, Educators, and Legislators the study of the Principles of Civil and Religious Liberty contained in the writings of THOMAS PAINE, viz: that freedom and security in the exercise of every right, and in the pursuit of happiness, are the great objects of society and government; and that religious belief, like every involuntary and spontaneous act of the human mind, should be free, under the only rightful limitation of freedom — its exercise not infringing upon the equal right of another.

Resolved, That every usurpation of power, by monarch, oligarchy, priesthood, or majority, is a despotism; that every government,

law, institution, or custom is tyrannical, which interferes with the natural rights of man, and hinders individual prosperity and happiness.

Resolved, That the individual man is sovereign over all his institutions; that we accept and reaffirm the great principle asserted by the author of the "Rights of Man," that men have no right to bind posterity, with constitutions, governments, laws, institutions, creeds, systems, or customs: therefore it is the ever sacred and indestructible right of every human being to choose for himself, as if such things had never existed, that form of government, society, and religion, which commends itself to his reason, and promises to promote his individual happiness; such right being exercised with a due regard to the equal right of every other individual.

Resolved, That we distinguish between the Christianity which is the representative expression of the moral virtue, and physical, and mental achievement of civilization, and the Christianity of blind superstition; clashing creeds, bigotted sects, and ignorant and intolerant fanatics, which has filled the world with persecution and bloodshed, and opposed every advance in science; which fetters the limbs, darkens the mind, and hardens the heart of humanity; which is a stumbling block in the path of progress, and the great embodiment of error, intolerance, and despotism.

Resolved, That we can respect the sincerity, if not the wisdom, of every honest belief; that we desire, in the assertion of our rights, to trespass upon no right of another; that we can tolerate every thing but intolerance; and war only with the despotisms, which war against the rights of man.

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to our fellow-citizens everywhere the celebration of this anniversary, until men shall become enlightened, tolerant, and brave enough to do JUSTICE TO THE MEMORY OF THOMAS PAINE.

J. S. BOYDEN, Esq., moved the following additional resolutions:

Resolved, That the thanks of this assembly are due to the committee of arrangements; the contributors of "material aid;" and to the military volunteers who have paid the honors of a national salute

to a nation's benefactor ; to the President and officers of this meeting ; to the orators of the day ; to the Union Choir and United States military band, of Newport, Ky., for their liberty-inspired and inspiring music ; and to the independent press, which has given, or may give, publicity to our proceedings.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Major Heintzleman, U. S. A., for a national salute.

Resolved, That the proceedings, addresses, and resolutions of this celebration be published, in a durable form, for general distribution, and as a memorial of this anniversary.

MUSIC.—NATIONAL AIRS, BY THE BAND.







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